Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 SEOUL 00337 01 OF 03 150230Z

71

ACTION EA-09

INFO OCT-01 IO-11 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-02 INR-07

L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06

CU-02 DHA-02 EB-07 COME-00 TRSE-00 OES-03 FEA-01 AS-01

/083 W

----- 103100

R 150111Z JAN 76 FM AMEMBASSY SEOUL TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4995 INFO AMEMBASSY TOKYO AMEMBASSY TAIPEI USLO PEKING USMISSION USUN NEW YORK AMCONSUL HONG KONG

CONFIDENTIAL SECTION 1 OF 3 SEOUL 0337

CINCPAC FOR POLAD

E.O. 11652: GDS TAGS: PINT KS

CINCPAC

SUBJECT: ROK DOMESTIC POLITICAL SCENE

REF: (A) SEOUL 5827 (B) SEOUL 9812 (C) SEOUL 8212 (D) SEOUL 9791 (E) SEOUL 9926

BEGIN SUMMARY: POLITICAL CALM DESCRIBED IN LAST EMBASSY REVIEW OF DOMESTIC SCENE (REF A) HAS BEEN MAINTAINED THROUGHOUT LAST HALF OF 1975. CONCURRENTLY PARK REGIME HAS CONTINUED TO REFINE ITS CAPABILITY TO CONTROL OPPOSITION ELEMENTS AND APPEARS AT BEGINNING OF NEW YEAR TO BE IN FIRMER POSITION POLITICALLY THAN AT ANY TIME SINCE INTRODUCTION OF YUSHIN CONSTITUTION OVER THREE YEARS AGO. SPRING AS ALWAYS IN KOREA WILL BE A PERIOD OF TESTING. BARRING UNFORESEEN PRECIPITOUS ACTION BY GOVERNMENT OR OPPOSITION ELEMENTS, FORECAST IS FOR CONTINUED CALM. END SUMMARY. CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 SEOUL 00337 01 OF 03 150230Z

- 1. APART FROM ABSENCE OF OVERT ANTI-GOVERNMENT DEMONSTRATION, THE LONGEST SUCH ABSENCE SINCE EARLY DAYS OF PRESIDENT PARK'S LEADERSHIP, MAJOR DEVELOPMENTS OF PAST SIX MONTHS HAVE BEEN:
- (1) FURTHER CLARIFICATION AND GRUDGING OR RESIGNED OPPOSITION ACCEPTANCE OF PROSCRIPTIONS AGAINST CRITICIZING CONSTITUTION, PRESIDENT PARK HIMSELF, AND ANY OTHER ACTIVITY THAT MIGHT THREATEN PARK'S PERSONAL POSITION; AND (2) TESTING AND DEVELOPMENT OF SOPHISTICATED MIX OF POLITICAL AND POLICE MEASURES DESIGNED TO SECURE CONTROL WHILE NEUTRALIZING UNDERLYING OPPOSITION SENTIMENT. ON FACE OF PAST SIX MONTHS EXPERIENCE POLITICAL SYSTEM AND MECHANISMS NOW IN PLACE MUST BE DEEMED SUCCESS FROM PARK'S VIEWPOINT.
- 2. WHILE PARK REPEATEDLY PROVED CAPABLE DURING INTRODUCTORY 1973 AND 1974 PHASE OF YUSHIN SYSTEM OF ULTIMATELY CONTAINING CAMPUS, PRESS, AND RELIGIOUS UNREST, VOCAL OPPOSITION ELEMENTS CONTINUED TO PROBE THE LIMITS OF ALLOWABLE DISSENT. CONTROL IN THIS EXPERIMENTAL PERIOD WAS UNEVEN, FLUCTUATING BETWEEN HARSHNESS AND RELAXATION, AND WAS PUNCTUATED BY DEMONSTRATIVE OUTBREAKS AMONG DISSATISFIED OPPOSITION GROUPS WHICH IN TURN WERE FED BY UNEASINESS AND EVEN ANGRY REACTIONS OVERSEAS, PARTICULARLY IN UNITED STATES AND JAPAN. THERE WAS ALSO CONSTANT QUESTION IN 1973/74 WHETHER REGIME MIGHT SUDDENLY BE FACED WITH MAJOR DOMESTIC OUTBREAK OF SOME KIND.
- 3. IN CONTRAST, POST VIETNAM ATMOSPHERE OF CONCERN ABOUT NORTH KOREAN THREAT, STRICT LIMITS OF ALLOWABLE DISSENT DEFINED IN EMERGENCY MEASURE NO. 9, COUPLED WITH MEASURES DESIGNED TO APPLY PRESSURE AS AND WHERE NEEDED TO QUELL VARYING OPPOSITION REACTIONS STYMIED OVERT ANTI-GOVERNMENT ACTIVITY IN MOST OF 1975.
- 4. AT SAME TIME, WHILE PRIMARILY CONCERNED WITH SECURING ITS AUTHORITARIAN RULE, GOVERNMENT HAS ALSO SHREWDLY BEEN AWARE OF DANGERS OF TOTALLY STIFLING CRITICISM AND TAKING MINDLESSLY HARSH STEPS AGAINST OPPONENTS. IT HAS ALSO PERCEIVED DESIRABILITY OF DEVELOPING BETTER IMAGE. THUS, LATTER MONTHS OF 1975 WERE ALSO MARKED BY MODICUM OF DEBATE, RELEASE OF STUDENTS WHO RECANTED ANTI-GOV'T ACTIONS, CAUTIOUS TREATMENT OF POLITICALLY POTENT OPPOSITION LEADERS (I.E. KIM TAE CHUNG WAS NOT PUT IN JAIL), CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 SEOUL 00337 01 OF 03 150230Z

AND POSITIVE IMAGE BUILDING.

NATIONAL ASSEMBLY AND NDP

5. REGULAR 1975 NATIONAL ASSEMBLY SESSION PROVIDED CLEAREST RECENT ILLUSTRATION OF GOVERNMENT ABILITY TO WIN ACCOMMODATION FROM OPPOSITION ON TERMS WHICH MET ALL ITS OWN REQUIREMENTS, WHILE WINNING OPPOSITION'S ACCEPTANCE OF LIMITED SCOPE FOR ITS ACTIVITY.

EARLY IN SEPTEMBER-DECEMBER SESSION GOVERNMENT USED OCCASION OF NDP ASSEMBLYWOMAN KIM OK-SON'S FIERY ATTACK IN ASSEMBLY ON PRESIDENT PARK TO CIRCUMSCRIBE PUBLIC DEBATE WITHIN ASSEMBLY. BY THREATENING MS. KIM'S EXPULSION IN DISREGARD OF PREVIOUSLY UPHELD IMMUNITY RULES, GOVERNMENT FORCED OPPOSITION INTO POSITION OF EITHER ACCEPTING LIMITS ON FUTURE DEBATE OR RESIGNING EN MASSE. PLACED IN THIS DILEMMA NDP MEMBERS AS SO OFTEN BEFORE FELL TO SQUABBLING AMONG THEMSELVES, THEN ENDED BY IGNOMINIOUSLY ACCEPTED GOVERNMENT TERMS. MEASURE OF GOVERNMENT'S SKILL WAS FACT THAT ALTHOUGH IT PRECIPITATED KIM OK-SON AFFAIR BY ITS HARSH STAND, GOVERNMENT MANAGED TO REMOVE ITSELF FROM PUBLIC EYE AS AFFAIR SPUN ITS COURSE, WHILE NDP EMBELLISHED ITS PUBLIC IMAGE AS ESSENTIALLY FECKLESS ORGANIZATION.

6. EQUALLY SHREWDLY HOWEVER, ONCE BOUNDARIES OF DEBATE IN ASSEMBLY WERE ESTABLISHED AND NDP WAS IN FULL DISARRAY, GOVERNMENT IN LATTER STAGES OF FALL ASSEMBLY SESSION ENTERED NEGOTIATIONS WITH NDP OVER BUDGET, RESULTING IN MINOR SYMBOLIC GAINS FOR OPPOSITION. IT ALSO ALLOWED CRITICISM OF GOVERNMENT CORRUPTION, AND COUNTENANCED SOME GENERAL POLITICAL DEBATE. WHILE RELATIVELY SMALL, GOVERNMENT'S CONCESSIONS WERE POPULAR AND SUFFICIENT TO ENABLE NDP TO REGAIN SOME FACE IF NOT REAL APPROVAL FROM ITS CONSTITUENTS. GRATEFUL FOR THESE FAVORS, NDP LEADERSHIP HAS ALLOWED ITSELF AT LEAST FOR THE TIME BEING TO BE CO-OPTED INTO ACCEPTING LIMITED DEBATE; INDEED PARTY LEADERSHIP, CONTRARY TO ITS ORIGINAL INTENTIONS, IS NOW ADVOCATING A GO-ALONG-TO-GET-ALONG PHILOSOPHY, JUSTIFYING ITS STANCE BY TAKING PUBLIC CREDIT FOR "CONCRETE ACHIEVEMENTS" IN ASSEMBLY THIS FALL.

STUDENT, RELIGIOUS, AND PRESS OPPOSITION

7. ALWAYS THE MOST DEDICATED GOVERNMENT OPPONENTS, STUDENTS MORE THAN ANY OTHER GROUP HAVE BORNE BRUNT OF TOUGHEST GOVERN-CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 SEOUL 00337 01 OF 03 150230Z

MENT ACTION AND HAVE BEEN SUBJECT TO BY FAR THE MOST EM-9 ARRESTS. ALTHOUGH MANY OF THE STUDENTS PICKED UP HAVE BEEN

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 SEOUL 00337 02 OF 03 150244Z

71 ACTION EA-09

INFO OCT-01 IO-11 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-02 INR-07

L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06

CU-02 DHA-02 EB-07 COME-00 TRSE-00 OES-03 FEA-01 AS-01

/083 W

CINCPAC

----- 103237

R 150111Z JAN 76
FM AMEMBASSY SEOUL
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4996
INFO AMEMBASSY TOKYO
AMEMBASSY TAIPEI
USLO PEKING
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
AMCONSUL HONG KONG

CONFIDENTIAL SECTION 2 OF 3 SEOUL 0337

CINCPAC FOR POLAD

RELEASED, ACCORDING TO OUR BEST ESTIMATES MORE THAN 200 (OUT OF TOTAL 219 EM-9 PRISONERS) ARE CURRENTLY IN PRISON AWAITING TRIAL OR SERVING SENTENCES. OTHER MEASURES USED TO BRING THE TRADITIONALLY REBELLIOUS STUDENTS INTO LINE INCLUDE CONSTANT AND EXTENSIVE POLICE AND KCIA MONITORING ON CAMPUS, THE STUDENT DEFENSE CORPS WHICH IN EFFECT MOBILIZES STUDENTS ON CAMPUS AND CONTROLS ALL THEIR EXTRA-CURRICULAR AND INTER-UNIVERSITY ACTIVITIES, MANDATORY CLASS ATTENDANCE AND HARDER STUDY REQUIREMENTS, AND THE PERSONAL CONTROL SYSTEM WHICH MAKES EACH PROFESSOR RESPONSIBLE FOR THE ACTIONS OF 10 TO 15 STUDENTS. THE SWORD OF DAMOCLES REPRESENTED BY SUSPENSION OF TENURE AND REVIEW OF ALL PROFESSORS' JOBS TO TAKE PLACE IN FEBRUARY HAS ALSO INHIBITED STUDENT POLITICAL ACTIVITY.

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 SEOUL 00337 02 OF 03 150244Z

8. THE PROTESTANT CHURCHES ARE SHARPLY DIVIDED OVER THE ISSUE OF OPPOSITION TO THE GOVERNMENT. ONE U.S. MISSIONARY DESCRIBED THE CURRENT DIVISIVENESS IN THE CHURCHES AS THE WORST HE HAS EVER SEEN. NCCC-K SECRETARY GENERAL KIM KWAN-SOK WAS IN PRISON FOR SIX MONTHS ON CHARGES HE MISUSED CHURCH FUNDS AND IS NOW FORCED TO MOVE CAUTIOUSLY TO TRY TO PUT THE NCCC-K, ONCE A MAJOR

ANTI-GOVERNMENT FORCE, TOGETHER AGAIN. HE HIMSELF IS UNDER FIRE FROM SOME PROTESTANT CHURCHMEN WHO ALLEGE HE MADE A DEAL WITH THE GOVERNMENT TO GET OUR OF JAIL EARLY, BUT LEFT THREE CLERGYMEN CONVICTED WITH HIM BEHIND TO GET LONGER SENTENCES.

9. CATHOLIC CHURCH UNDER CARDINAL KIM SU-KWAN IS ALSO STALEMATED, WITH YOUNGER ACTIVIST PRIESTS PITTED AGAINST CONSERVATIVE CONFERENCE OF BISHOPS IN AN EFFORT TO FORCE THE CHURCH INTO MORE OPEN OPPOSITION TO GOVERNMENT. BISHOP CHI HAK-SON, CHURCH'S MAJOR DISSIDENT LEADER, IS IN POOR HEALTH AND IS LIVING UNDER TIGHT POLICE SURVEILLANCE.

10. ALREADY SUBDUED BY EXPULSIONS OF REV. GEORGE OGLE AND MARYKNOLL PRIEST JAMES SINNOTT, FOREIGN MISSIONARY COMMUNITY HAS BEEN PUT ON SHORTER LEASH AS GOVERNMENT HAS RESORTED WITH INCREASING FREQUENCY TO ISSUANCE OF THREE MONTH RESIDENCE PERMITS AND DEMANDED LETTERS OF GUARANTEE FROM SOME MISSION BOARDS THAT THEIR MISSIONARIES WILL REFRAIN FROM POLITICAL ACTIVITIES. KCIA AND POLICE SURVEILLANCE OF FOREIGN MISSIONARIES, PARTICULARLY THOSE JUDGED TO BE RADICALS, IS THOROUGH.

11. IN WORDS OF KIM TAE CHUNG, WHEN GOVERNMENT BROUGHT TRADITIONALLY OPPOSITION-ORIENTED TONGA ILBO TO ITS KNEES WITH AN ADVERTISING BOYCOTT, PRESS FREEDOM DIED IN KOREA. THIS IS RATHER EXTREME VIEW, BUT TONGA ILBO MESSAGE WAS NOT LOST ON OTHER PAPERS AND IN PAST SIX MONTHS THEY HAVE BECOME SUBMISSIVE. ALTHOUGH MAKE-UP EDITORS GET CALLS FROM GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS TELLING THEM WHAT STORIES TO PLAY UP OR KILL, JOURNALISTS HAVE LARGELY FALLEN INTO A KIND OF SELF-CENSORSHIP BASED ON GROUND RULE THAT STORIES WHICH ARE OR CAN BE CONSTRUED AS BEING CRITICAL OF THE SYSTEM SHOULD NOT BE PRINTED. CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 SEOUL 00337 02 OF 03 150244Z

LIKE ASSEMBLY, OPPOSITION PRESS IS FREE TO CRITICIZE ECONOMIC POLICIES, CORRUPTION BUT NOT THE ESSENTIALS OF THE SYSTEM. CONTROL OF THE PRESS AS MUCH AS ANY OTHER MOVE HAS CONTINUED TO HURT THE OPPOSITION GROUPS, SINCE FEW OF THEIR ACTIVITIES ARE PUBLICIZED AND AMPLIFIED.

12. IN SUM, DURING PAST SIX MONTHS, AIR OF RESIGNATION AND DEFEATISM, ANIMATED ONLY BY OCCASIONAL INTERNAL BICKERING, HAS SETTLED MORE HEAVILY THAN EVER OVER RANKS OF THE ANTI-GOVERNMENT OPPOSITION REPRESENTED BY STUDENTS, ACADEMICS, CHURCHMEN AND PRESS. EVEN SUCH STAUNCH OPPOSITION FIGURES AS KIM TAE CHUNG AND KIM KWON SOK, CONCEDE THAT THE PARK GOVERNMENT IS NOW IN FIRM CONTROL OF DOMESTIC SITUATION AND WILL REMAIN SO FOR FORESEEABLE FUTURE, AND THAT THERE IS

ALMOST NO HOPE OF RESTORING DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT TO KOREA WHILE PARK IS IN POWER. WITHOUT A RALLYING ISSUE OF THEIR OWN, FACED WITH A POWERFUL, ECONOMICALLY SUCCESSFUL GOVERNMENT THAT HAS STRONG RALLYING CRY IN NEED TO ACHIEVE SELF-RELIANCE AGAINST NORTHERN THREAT, ISOLATED AND FRUSTRATED OPPOSITION MEMBERS NOW AT TIMES TALK REPROACHFULLY TO EMBASSY OFFICERS ABOUT FAILURE OF U.S. TO MAINTAIN ITS INTEREST IN DEMOCRACY AND HUMAN RIGHTS IN KOREA. THEY SPEAK ABOUT US AS THOUGH WE WERE THEIR LAST RESORT, BUT QUITE EVIDENTLY THEY SEE LITTLE HOPE IN U.S. ACTING AS THEIR SAVIOR AND INDEED SOME WOULD NOT HAVE US PLAY THIS ROLE.

EFFORTS TO CREATE POSITIVE GOALS AND IMAGE

13. WHILE ITS DOMESTIC POLITICAL EFFORTS HAVE BEEN PRIMARILY DEVOTED TO SECURING CONTROL OVER VARIOUS OPPOSITION ELEMENTS, PARK REGIME HAS OF COURSE CONTINUED TO DEVELOP ITS MAJOR SECURITY, FOREIGN AND DOMESTIC ECONOMIC POLICIES AND AS ADJUNCT TO THIS IT HAS ALSO SOUGHT DURING PAST MONTHS TO DEVELOP POSITIVE POLITICAL RATIONALE AND IMAGE ACCEPTABLE TO KOREAN PEOPLE. ROKG HAS CONTINUED TO STRESS ALMOST DAILY ITS ACHIEVEMENTS IN SECURITY AND ECONOMIC SPHERES, ACHIEVEMENTS MADE IN FACE OF OIL CRISIS AND WORLDWIDE DEPRESSION. AT SAME TIME PRESIDENT PARK HAS PUBLICLY ACKNOWLEDGED CONSIDERABLE SACRIFICES DEMANDED FROM PEOPLE IN ORDER TO CUT CONSUMPTION AND INCREASE EXPORTS. PRESIDENT HAS ALSO CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 SEOUL 00337 02 OF 03 150244Z

TOLD NATION THAT ITS OBJECTIVE AFTER FIRST THREE YEARS
OF "YUSHIN" IS TO FIRMLY "ROOT" SYSTEM IN KOREA. HE
HAS REPEATEDLY EMPHASIZED NATIONAL SECURITY AND ECONOMIC
OBSTACLES WHICH CAN ONLY BE OVERCOME BY DEVELOPING
FRAMEWORK OF SELF-SUFFICIENCY AND STRENGTH THROUGH
DILIGENCE, COOPERATION AND FRUGALITY. IN THIS CONNECTION
SUCCESSES OF SAEMAUL UNDONG (COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT
MOVEMENT) HAVE BEEN GIVEN SUBSTANTIAL PUBLICITY, AND
PROGRAMS TO INCLUDE NATION'S LEADERS AND URBAN POPULATION
IN SAEMAUL ALONG WITH KOREA'S FARMERS HAVE BEEN INTRODUCED.
FALL OF INDO-CHINA GREATLY ABETTED PRESIDENT PARK BY MAKING
HIS APPEAL FOR UNITY FOR THE TIME BEING MORE CREDIBLE.

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 SEOUL 00337 03 OF 03 150408Z

71

ACTION EA-09

INFO OCT-01 IO-11 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-02 INR-07

L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06

CU-02 DHA-02 EB-07 COME-00 TRSE-00 OES-03 FEA-01 AS-01

/083 W

----- 104103

R 150111Z JAN 76
FM AMEMBASSY SEOUL
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4997
INFO AMEMBASSY TOKYO
AMEMBASSY TAIPEI
USLO PEKING
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
AMCONSUL HONG KONG
CINCPAC

CONFIDENTIAL SECTION 3 OF 3 SEOUL 0337

CINCPAC FOR POLAD

14. IN CONJUNCTION WITH THIS TYPE OF RHETORIC AND EFFORT ROKG HAS SUSTAINED AND PUBLICIZED ANTI-CORRUPTION CAMPAIGN THROUGHOUT YEAR. WHILE MOST POLITICAL OBSERVERS REMAIN SKEPTICAL THAT CAMPAIGN WILL BE MORE SUCCESSFUL THAN ITS PREDECESSORS IN ELIMINATING HIGH LEVEL CORRUPTION, GOVERNMENT CLAIMS PAST YEAR HAS SEEN DISCIPLINARY ACTION AGAINST 6,200 GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS FOR CORRUPTION AND "IRREGULARITIES." ON BALANCE OUR IMPRESSION IS THAT LOW LEVEL CORRUPTION HAS BEEN REDUCED TO SOME EXTENT AND IS NOW LESS AN IRRITANT TO AVERAGE CITIZEN THAN IN PAST. IN ANY EVENT MASSIVE PUBLICITY GIVEN TO CASES SUCH AS BREAK-UP OF LARGE SCALE PUSAN AND YOSU SMUGGLING RINGS AND CONCURRENT PUNISHMENT OF CUSTOMS AND POLICE OFFICIALS GIVES PUBLIC IMPRESSION OF PROGRESS. LIKEWISE RECENT FIRING OF REUNIFICATION MINISTER AND KOREAN ELECTRIC COMPANY PRESIDENT AFTER NDP ATTACKS IN NATIONAL ASSEMBLY IS GENERALLY ASSUMED TO BE PART OF EFFORT TO CLEAN-UP ADMINIS-TRATION, OR AT LEAST ITS IMAGE. CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 SEOUL 00337 03 OF 03 150408Z

CABINT CHANGES

15. PERHAPS CLEAREST INDICATOR OF GOVERNMENT'S CONTROL OF DOMES-TIC SITUATION AND PERCEPTION THAT YUSHIN SYSTEM IS FIRMLY IN PLACE WAS DECEMBER 17 CABINET SHAKE-UP. AS REPORTED REF E, REPLACEMENT OF PRIME MINISTER KIM CHONG-PIL. A MAJOR POLITICAL FIGURE WHO WAS NEEDED TO HELP INTRODUCE YUSHIN SYSTEM, BY EX-PERIENCED FOREIGN AFFAIRS BUREAUCRAT CHOE KYU-HA, NOT ONLY RE-SULTED IN GREATER DIRECT CONCENTRATION OF DOMESTIC CONTROL IN BLUE HOUSE BUT APPEARED TO MASK BEGINNING OF NEW ADMINISTRATIVE PHASE OF YUSHIN. APPOINTMENT AS WELL AS RETENTION OF PROVEN ADMINISTRATORS AND SKILLED TECHNOCRATS IN THE KEY DOMESTIC MINISTRIES OF HOME AFFAIRS, EDUCATION, AND CULTURE AND INFORMATION ALONG WITH THE IMPORTANT POSTS OF KCIA DIRECTOR AND PROSECUTOR GENERAL RESULTED IN THE CONSOLIDATION OF A PROVEN DOMESTIC CONTROL APPARATUS LED BY NON-POLITICAL LIEUTENANTS THROUGH WHICH PARK CAN CONTROL DISSENT AND BUILD POSITIVE PROGRAMS. IN ADDITION, ASSUMING DOMESTIC DISSENT CONTINUES TO BE STIFLED, NEW CABINET'S FOREIGN AFFAIRS EXPERTISE WILL AMONG OTHER THINGS SEEK TO CAPITALIZE ON DOMESTIC QUIET IN EFFORT IMPROVE ROKG PUBLIC IMAGE ABROAD.

OUTLOOK

16. 1976 MARKS BEGINNING OF FOURTH YEAR OF YUSHIN SYSTEM AND ITS FIRM IMPLANTATION IN KOREA. THROUGH FLEXIBLE AND SKILLFUL USE OF CONTROLS, PRESIDENT PARK HAS SUBDUED OPPOSITION AND HAS ACHIEVED DEGREE OF NATIONAL DISCIPLINE HE BELIEVES NECESSARY TO ENSURE ROK'S SURVIVAL. ON ECONOMIC SIDE, KOREA HAS COME THROUGH THE WORLD RECESSION IN BETTER SHAPE THAN COULD HAVE BEEN EXPECTED, AND WHILE CONTINUED INFLATION COULD RESULT IN SOME PUBLIC TURBU-LENCE, 1976 PROMISES TO BE A YEAR OF SIGNIFICANT ECONOMIC GROWTH. ACCORDINGLY, OVERALL ECONOMIC FACTORS IN LAST ANALYSIS SHOULD ONCE AGAIN PROVE POLITICAL PLUS FOR REGIME. UNDER CIRCUMSTANCES. WHILE STUDENTS ARE LIKELY TO TRY, IT IS DIFFICULT TO FORESEE HOW OPPOSITION CAN ORGANIZE ANYTHING SUBSTANTIAL IN WAY OF ANTI-GOVERNMENT DEMONSTRATIONS LET ALONE ENGINEER MAJOR UPHEAVAL DURING TRADITIONAL SPRING PERIOD OF FOMENT. KOREANS REMAIN AS VOLATILE AS EVER AND GOVERNMENT COULD OVERSTEP CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 SEOUL 00337 03 OF 03 150408Z

TOLERABLE POLITICAL LIMITS AND INDUCE STRONG REACTION. BETTING TODAY IN SEOUL, HOWEVER, IS CLEARLY ON SIDE OF CONTINUED POLITICAL QUIET.

17. ON POSITIVE SIDE OUTLOOK ALSO IS ESSENTIALLY FOR MORE OF THE SAME. PRESIDENT PARK WILL CONTINUE PROGRAM TO CREATE A CLEAN SOCIETY IN KOREA IN 1976 BY ROOTING OUT

CORRUPTION IN GOVERNMENT ON GROUNDS THIS ESSENTIAL TO RETAIN GRASS ROOTS SUPPORT. ONE NEW POSITIVE DOMESTIC PROGRAM

WHICH WE EXPECT TO EMERGE WILL BE MAJOR EFFORT TO DEVELOP IDEOLOGICAL BASE FOR REGIME. "ANTI-COMMUNISM" AND ECONOMIC SUCCESS IS ALL MANY KOREANS FEEL THEY HAVE HAD IN WAY OF IDEOLOGICAL GUIDE-POSTS. GOVERNMENT WILL FIND IT MORE DIFFICULT CHORE TO MAKE PEOPLE "BELIEVE" THAN TO "OBEY" BUT WARNING OF DIFFICULTY DOES NOT STOP A KOREAN. THERE HAS ALREADY BEEN ONE PUBLIC SUGGESTION BY KIM CHONG-POL OF NEED FOR "POLITICAL EDUCATION" AND AS INDICATED SAEMAUL "PHILOSOPHY" IS BEING MORE WIDELY PROPAGATED. ALSO WE HEAR MAJOR STUDY EFFORT TO DEVELOP GUIDING PHILOSOPHY IS ALREADY UNDER WAY IN GOVERNMENT AND UNIVERSITIES. THUS WE EXPECT TO HEAR MORE OF ALL THIS IN 1976.

18. OTHERWISE DOMESTICALLY WE ANTICIPATE USUAL INTRA-PARTY MANEUVERING. INDEED THIS IS PRIME PREOCCUPATION IN SEOUL AT MOMENT WITH YUCHONGHUE AND ASSEMBLY LEADERSHIP CHANGES DUE IN MARCH, AND NDP CONVENTION IN MAY. IT SHOULD ALL BE INTERESTING AND SOME OF IT MAY EVEN BORDER ON THE SIGNIFICANT FOR THOSE EDUCATED IN THIS ARCANE BUSINESS, ESPECIALLY IF YUCHONGHUE AND ASSEMBLY CHANGES PROVIDE FURTHER CLUES AS TO HOW THE PRESIDENT INTENDS TO HANDLE POTENTIAL RIVALS LIKE KIM CHONG-PIL AND CHONG IL-KWON IN PURSUIT OF A FURTHER CONSOLIDATION OF HIS POWER. AS IT PROMOTES AND DEMOTES FORTUNES OF THE VARIOUS ACTORS WE AMONG OTHERS WILL FOLLOW THE PLAY CLOSELY. BUT IN THE END WE EXPECT THE INTRA-PARTY SOUND AND FURY TO BE MOSTLY JUST THAT: "SOUND AND FURY".

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994 Channel Indicators: n/a

Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED

Concepts: POLITICAL SITUATION, OPPOSITION PARTIES, POLITICAL SUMMARIES

Control Number: n/a Copy: SINGLE Draft Date: 15 JAN 1976 Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960 Decaption Note: Disposition Action: RELEASED Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: greeneet
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1976SEOUI 00337

Document Number: 1976SEOUL00337 Document Source: CORE Document Unique ID: 00

Drafter: n/a Enclosure: n/a Executive Order: GS Errors: N/A

Film Number: D760014-0996

From: SEOUL

Handling Restrictions: n/a

Image Path:

Legacy Key: link1976/newtext/t19760153/aaaabvji.tel Line Count: 467

Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM Office: ACTION EA Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL Original Handling Restrictions: n/a Original Previous Classification: n/a Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a

Page Count: 9

Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL

Previous Glassification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: 75 SEOUL 5827, 75 SEOUL 9812, 75 SEOUL 8212, 75 SEOUL 9791
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: greeneet
Review Comment: n/a

Review Comment: n/a Review Content Flags: Review Date: 13 MAY 2004

Review Event:

Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <13 MAY 2004 by ShawDG>; APPROVED <13 SEP 2004 by greeneet>

Review Markings:

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MÁY 2006

Review Media Identifier: Review Referrals: n/a Review Release Date: n/a Review Release Event: n/a **Review Transfer Date:**

Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a

Secure: OPEN Status: NATIVE

Subject: ROK DOMESTIC POLITICAL SCENE

TAGS: PINT, KS To: STATE

Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006